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ABSTRACT

Building on previous work that showed the importance of discussion for teaching literature and that discussion in low-achieving high school English classes is particularly infrequent (Nystrand, 1997), this study investigated a low-achieving class that featured regular discussions to gain insights into how dialogically organized instruction emerged within the context of a traditional recitation instructional setting, further complicated by poverty and linguistic diversity. Using a combination of grounded theory (Strauss, 1987) and conversation analysis, for 18 weeks the researchers observed a ninth-grade English class in a Midwestern inner-city high school, the majority of whose students were Hispanic. Though the profile of classroom discourse was typical of that found in most American high schools using a dominant IRE (Initiation--Response--Evaluation) pattern, the teacher sought to open up her classroom; she characterized herself as a teacher in transition. To investigate the dimensions of this transition, the researchers conducted 51 observations during the spring semester, observing 14 discussions, or instructional conversations (Tharp and Gallimore, 1988). The study documents three key strategies that the teacher used in her efforts to make such discussions possible: developing an ethos of involvement and respect, using scaffolding and specific ways of phrasing questions to encourage (and discourage) discussion, and, most importantly, acknowledging and making space for the presence of students' interpersonal relationships. This study shows that dialogic discourse can happen when teachers are adept at linking--and enabling links between--academic objectives and student concerns that often originate beyond both the classroom and the school. (Contains 46 references, a figure, and 3 notes. Appendixes contain

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definitions of key variables, details of discussions analyzed, and transcription conventions.) (Author/RS)

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CELA RESEARCH REPORT

TAKING RISKS, NEGOTIATING RELATIONSHIPS: ONE TEACHER'S TRANSITION TOWARDS A DIALOGIC CLASSROOM

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MARTIN NYSTRAND

CELA RESEARCH REPORT NUMBER 14003

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Abstract

Building on previous work that showed the importance of discussion for teaching literature and that discussion in low-achieving high school English classes is particularly infrequent (Nystrand, 1997), this study investigated a low-achieving class that featured regular discussions to gain insights into how dialogically organized instruction emerged within the context of a traditional recitation instructional setting, further complicated by poverty and linguistic diversity. Using a combination of grounded theory (Strauss, 1987) and conversation analysis, for 18 weeks we observed a ninth-grade English class in a Midwestern inner-city high school, the majority of whose students were Hispanic. Though the profile of classroom discourse was typical of that found in most American high schools using a dominant IRE pattern, the teacher sought to open up her classroom; she characterized herself as a teacher in transition. To investigate the dimensions of this transition, we conducted 51 observations during the spring semester, observing 14 discussions, or instructional conversations (Tharp & Gallimore, 1988). In this paper, we document three key strategies that the teacher used in her efforts to make such discussions possible: developing an ethos of involvement and respect, using scaffolding and specific ways of phrasing questions to encourage (and discourage) discussion, and, most importantly, acknowledging and making space for the presence of students' interpersonal relationships. This study shows that dialogic discourse can happen when teachers are adept at linking – and enabling links between – academic objectives and student concerns that often originate beyond both the classroom and the school.

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INTRODUCTION

Much research has documented the historic and widespread prevalence of recitation in American schools. Indeed, as early as 1860, Morrison complained that "young teachers are very apt to confound rapid questioning and answers with sure and effective teaching" (cited in Hoetker & Ahlbrand, 1969, p. 153). More than a half century later, in 1919, Colvin estimated that only "about five percent [of the teacher questions he studied] could be considered in any way genuine thought questions" (1919, p. 269). Thayer (1928) claimed that recitation was a progressive reform enabling teachers to gauge the mastery of large groups of children by checking the knowledgeability of relatively few. Corey (1940), Bellack, Kliebard, Hyman, and Smith (1966), and Hoetker (1967) all found that teachers talked about two thirds of all instructional time and that more than 80% of all teacher questions sought to elicit recall in a recitation format. Subsequent studies continue to find similar results: See, for example, Duffy (1981), Durkin (1978-79), Goodlad (1984), Gutiérrez, (1993, 1994; Gutiérrez & Larson, 1994), Hoetker & Ahlbrand (1969), Sarason (1983), and Tharp & Gallimore (1988).

How Much Discussion? The First Study. A more recent study is Nystrand and Gamoran's (Gamoran & Nystrand, 1991; Nystrand, 1997; Nystrand & Gamoran, 1991) large-scale quantitative study of eighth- and ninth-grade English and social studies classes involving thousands of students and hundreds of observations in a diverse sample of American schools over two years. Working from a Bakhtinian perspective, they found that students' literature achievement clearly correlated with the overall dialogic quality of discourse in their classrooms. Compared to recitation, dialogically organized instruction involves fewer teacher questions and more conversational turns, as teachers and students alike contribute their ideas to a discussion in

which their understandings evolve in class, face to face. Students not only answer questions; they also make points and contribute to discussions. Nystrand & Gamoran (1991) found that in such classes students learned more and learned more in depth than did students in more typical, monologically organized classes, where the default mode of instruction was some combination of lecture, recitation, and seatwork, which together comprised 85% of all instruction. The study found that dialogically organized instruction, indicated by time devoted to: discussion; authentic questions, rather than the usual known-answer test questions; uptake (e.g., follow up questions); high-level evaluation in which the teacher validates a student's response and puts it into the play of discussion; and other devices had a strong, positive effect on achievement. Discussion in particular had a large effect, particularly striking because there was so little of it, less than a minute a day on average.

This is not to say that the teachers in the study did not value discussion. Indeed, when interviewed, most of them spoke readily of its importance in their lessons. Yet the researchers' observations revealed that what teachers called discussion was almost always what one teacher described as "question-and-answer discussion" involving a prescripted teacher-set exchange–in other words, an elaborated form of recitation. Rarely was it collaborative, thoroughgoing, pushed-to-the-limit sharing and exploration of student ideas unfolding in class–or, as Britton (1970) puts it, a "struggle to organize . . . thoughts and feelings, to come up with words that . . . shape an understanding" (p. 12). The main variation in the lessons was the length of students' responses as they answered teachers' questions. Open discussion, defined as the free exchange among students and/or between at least three students and the teacher, sustained at least a half minute and uninterrupted by teacher test questions, averaged less than 50 seconds in eighth grade and less than 15 seconds in ninth grade; more than 95% of all English classes had no discussion at all (Nystrand, 1997). In short, despite teachers' considerable lip service to "discussion," Nystrand & Gamoran (1991) observed little discussion in any classes in the sense of an indepth exchange of ideas not dominated by teacher evaluation.

How Discussion Comes About. The Second Study. Unfortunately, large-scale quantitative studies, informative as they are, particularly for generating hypotheses and screening candidate variables for closer study, cannot reveal anything about the actual dynamics of the variables, for example, indicating the role authentic questions, might play in bringing about discussion. And while qualitative case studies are a useful way to probe such issues, the results are invariably

limited to the case studied; one never knows clearly how far to generalize beyond the individual case. To address this limitation, Nystrand, Gamoran, and colleagues (Nystrand, Wu, Gamoran, Zeiser, and Long, 2001), conducted a second study, using event history methods to examine the role of several classroom discourse variables as antecedents to dialogic spells and discussion. This method of analysis allowed the researchers to interrogate Nystrand and Gamoran's entire database of class observations with sensitivity to the unfolding of instruction in real time.

The results of this second study indicated that starting a discussion is a lot like starting a fire. With enough kindling of the right sort, accompanied by patience, ignition is possible, though perhaps not on the first or second try (Marshall, Smagorinsky, & Smith, 1995, explore many of the challenges teachers must overcome to get discussion going). Nystrand et al (2001) learned that some of the ways teachers seek to kindle dialogic interaction, which they called "dialogic bids," include (a) asking authentic questions, which value and elicit student ideas and not just mastery of information, (b) practicing uptake, in which teachers ask students follow up questions to pursue points and lines of inquiry introduced by students, and (c) using high-level evaluation, which valorizes students' responses and allows their ideas and responses to influence the direction of discussion. Results also revealed the probabilities of these dialogic bids for effecting dialogic shifts, and it became clear that the probabilities are cumulative. Hence, if a single authentic teacher question increases the probability of a dialogic shift by 4%, two authentic teacher questions double the probability.

Opening Dialogue: The Case of a Teacher in Transition. The Third Study. The study reported here is the final report in a methodological triptych examining, within a Bakhtinian perspective, the character of dialogically organized instruction. Bakhtin argued that all discourse is inherently dialogic, by which he meant that it is continually structured by tension – indeed conflict – between the conversants, between self and other as one voice "refracts" another. It is precisely this tension, he argued – this relationship between self and other, this juxtaposition of relative perspectives and struggle among competing voices – that gives shape to all discourse and hence lies at the heart of understanding as a dynamic, sociocognitive event. The essential dialogic character of discourse does not, however, prevent speakers in particular contexts from treating it as though it were monologic. Bakhtin (1984) offered examples such as the guidelines of the Soviet Writer's Union in the 1930s, which stipulated that all Soviet writers were expected to

write "fixed-form," "party-minded" social-realist novels. Bakhtin (1981) also cited "pedagogical dialogue," or what is today known as recitation:

> In an environment of . . . monologism the genuine interaction of consciousness is impossible, and thus genuine dialogue is impossible as well. In essence idealism knows only a single mode of cognitive interaction among consciousnesses: someone who knows and possesses the truth instructs someone who is ignorant of it and in error; that is, it is the interaction of a teacher and a pupil, which, it follows, can only be a pedagogical dialogue (p. 81).

In recitation, the teacher's voice is so dominant compared to interactive discussion that such instruction seems arguably far more "monologic" than dialogic. Teachers regularly strive for monologism when, for example, they "prescript" both the questions they ask and the answers they accept, as well as the order in which they ask the questions.

In Bakhtin's (1981) terms, dialogically organized instruction provides public space for student responses, accommodating and promoting the refraction of voices representing differing values, beliefs, and perspectives, and ideally including the voices of different classes, races, ages, and genders. Dialogically organized instruction is fueled by such pluralism and 'many voicedness' (heteroglossia, in Bakhtinian terms), and the extent of social interactiveness essentially shapes both instruction and learning.

In the research reported here, using methods of ethnography and conversation analysis, we sought to flesh out the actual dynamics of a fruitful dialogic bid. Our study investigated a ninth-grade English class at Urban High School.[1] This Midwestern inner-city high school serves 1,450 students, primarily Hispanic. The attrition rate is high; only 40% of the entering freshmen graduate at the end of four years. The class we observed was officially college preparatory and was expected to fare better than the general population of the school; indeed, the teacher, Kathy Smith,[1] predicted that 90% of the students in her class would graduate and that more than half would go to college. Yet many of her students were at a disadvantage in achieving this goal as almost all read at the fourth- or fifth-grade level. Indeed, a cursory look at Kathy's class seemed to suggest a stereotypical inner-city high school classroom: Students spent a significant portion of classroom time engaged in seatwork and taking turns reading aloud; the teacher asked 99% of the questions, the overwhelming proportion of which elicited reports, only 7% were authentic (eliciting unprescripted answers), and only 9% were marked by uptake (following up on a response). (Explanation of these variables will be found in Appendix A.) This profile was

notably more monologic than Nystrand & Gamoran's (1991) urban sample of 35 ninth-grade classrooms, where teachers asked 92% of the questions, 33% involved uptake, and 33% were authentic (Figure 1 summarizes these data). These data reveal the teacher's firm control over the pace and direction of instruction, and consistent with this profile, we noted that students typically demonstrated the kind of dutiful behavior called for in traditional IRE (Initiation – Response – Evaluation) exchanges.

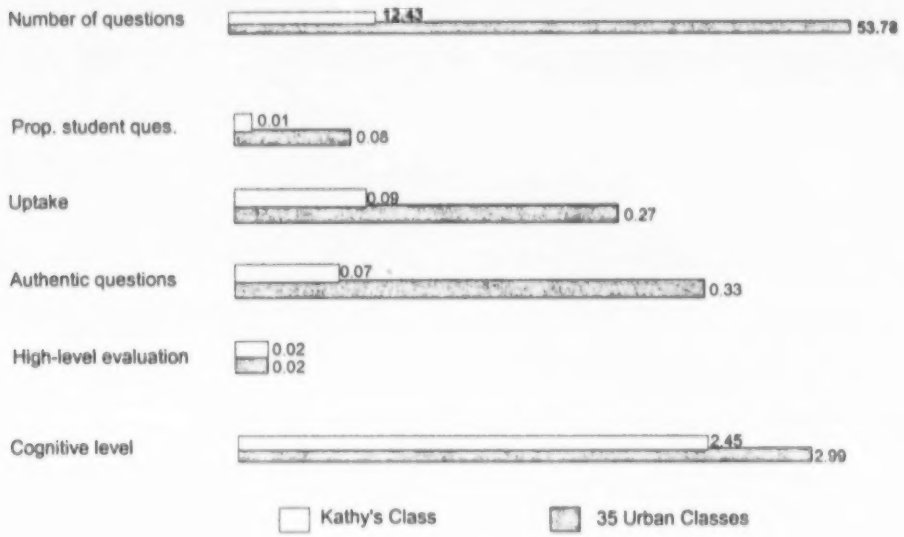

Figure 1. Question profiles from a random sample of 21 of Kathy's class compared to a general sample of 35 ninth-grade urban English classes (Nystrand, 1997); all figures are means per day.

Not surprisingly, the curriculum was not particularly student-centered: The short day-to- day writing assignments were not personal in nature, and the literature assigned was fairly traditional fare, including two Shakespeare plays, *Romeo and Juliet* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, with content not directly relevant to either the students' personal situations or the cultures of their community. In class exchanges, Kathy typically rewarded student responses that matched most closely the answers she had planned in her lesson plan for the day. Several students reported to us that they felt comfortable speaking in class only when they were sure they knew the correct answers, even though Kathy sometimes prefaced her questions by saying that there were no right or wrong answers. Rather than treating class interactions as opportunities for trying out and exchanging ideas, students tended to view them as occasions to find or display correct answers to

questions with prescripted answers, and these answers, we learned, often found their way into their writing for the course.

Such a profile hardly suggests a dialogic classroom distinguished by the give and take of regular discussion. Yet engaged discussions did emerge: they were more frequent, more sustained, and frequently more thoughtful than in many classrooms we previously studied. Over the course of 51 observations during the spring semester, we observed 14 discussions totaling 55:25 minutes and involving about half the students in the class. On average, each discussion lasted 3:58 minutes; one lasted more than 14 minutes; the shortest was 49 seconds. This works out, on average, to 1:05 minutes of discussion for each of the days we visited the class, not very much but substantially more than the average of 19 seconds in a much larger sample of comparable classes studied in previous research by Nystrand and Gamoran (Gamoran & Nystrand, 1991; Nystrand, 1997; the table in Appendix B describes all the discussions). How might we explain this?

In her interviews with us, Kathy talked about herself as a teacher in transition, and we believe that the transitional nature of her pedagogy had a great deal to do not only with why her classroom often appeared to be so traditional, but also with why her classroom occasionally had bursts of active dialogism. Kathy took her job as a teacher very seriously, and over the years she had made a habit of preparing carefully for class, even when that meant working considerably more than forty hours per week. She had a clear agenda for each class session and achieved the desired results guiding students through her lesson plans. The questions Kathy asked and the responses she sought from students thus had a lot to do with what she hoped to accomplish during each class session. Having taught in various settings for over twenty years, she had a repertoire of traditional classroom strategies to which she was accustomed, but she was now working actively to make her classroom more student-centered.

Kathy's emphasis on fairly strict lesson plans reflects in part the larger political forces that affect many public school classrooms, especially those, like Kathy's, in low-income urban areas. Urban High School is in a school district that has borne the brunt of negative criticism that many other urban school districts have received recently and historically. The recent criticism of this school district came to a head in the late 1990s, when the state governor openly discussed the possibility of dissolving the entire district and putting it under state rather than local control. While this never happened, the school district has been subject to a series of strict testing

schedules and has had its funding seriously undermined by a school choice voucher initiative. Because of all the highly politicized attention on this district, public school teachers like Kathy are expected to be unusually accountable for their work: the results of standardized tests are both public and publicized, in some circumstances published prominently every year, by school and grade (and implicitly, by teacher), in the local newspaper. This close and critical public attention to the work of the schools in the district means, at the very least, that teachers have compelling reasons to stick closely to lesson plans that seem most likely to help students do well on the standardized tests. While we did not focus on the public controversies surrounding Kathy's school district, we recognize that strong sociopolitical forces had a significant impact on the choices Kathy made in planning her lessons.

For many reasons, then, while Kathy engaged her students in many fruitful discussions, the climate of top-down classroom hierarchy lingered in ways that sometimes hindered dialogic interaction. The purpose of the study reported here was to understand the infrequency and challenge of academic discussion in the day-to day sessions of high school English classes like this one. Why is discussion hard to start and difficult to sustain? How does a teacher cover the curriculum and keep order while also setting conversation in motion? And when discussion happens, what conditions foster it? By intensively studying one committed teacher's classroom for a semester, we sought to gain insights into how she met the challenge to engage her students and herself at a new level.

Methods

We elected to study Kathy Smith's classroom because she was a respected and experienced professional (department chair with 20 years of teaching experience) whose practice was conventional by standards of classroom discourse in most American high schools yet who was working to implement a more interactive classroom. Though her ninth-grade students read at only the fourth- and fifth-grade levels, she expressed high expectations for them, and they respected her.

Drawing from methods of classroom ethnographic research and conversation analysis, we observed Kathy's class for the duration of a large, 18-week unit on biographical and

autobiographical writing. In the first seven weeks we observed her class, during which the class focused on three related biographical texts. We audio- and videotaped every class session in order to become acclimated to the class and get acquainted with Kathy and her students. For the remaining eleven weeks, after we had a sense of the rhythms of the class, we audio- and videotaped class sessions three times a week and attended all extra functions, such as field trips and awards ceremonies in which the class as a whole participated. Through this ongoing involvement with the class in various settings both within and outside the official classroom walls, we observed and, to some extent, participated in the life of the classroom community for most of the semester.

In class, we recorded the classroom activities by videotaping from two camera angles, one a wide-angle view of the entire class for use in identifying speakers and transcribing gestures, and the other a zoomed-in view of the teacher for use in analyzing eye-gaze and other facial expressions (Ford, 1999). We also offered (and audio- and videotaped) free tutoring sessions to the students as a way to show our appreciation to the class for participating in the study and to gain insider observations about the class. In these tutoring sessions, we worked one-on-one with six focal students, who volunteered to participate during their free class periods. Because these students were self selected, their level of participation in class did not affect their selection as focal students; however, the group as a whole fortuitously included students who rarely or never spoke in class, as well as some of the most vocal and regular participants. Thanks to this mix of students, we were able to gain insight through them into some of the reasons why students both did and did not participate in classroom talk.

During class observations, we wrote detailed field notes charting attendance, dialogue, interpersonal relationships, and the course of activities and student participation, paying particular attention to discussion. Following the model of Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw (1995), we regularly reviewed our notes as the semester progressed, forming hypotheses about how the class functioned and tailored our successive notes and research accordingly, so that our classroom research was "at once inductive and deductive" (p. 144). In addition, we used CLASS 2.0, a laptop computer system for in-class analysis of classroom discourse, to assess and code nonprocedural questions for authenticity, uptake, level of evaluation, and cognitive level (definitions and treatments of these variables will be found in Appendix A).

In order to obtain participants' "self-evaluations and self-interpretations of particular encounters" (Linell and Luckmann, 1992, pp. 1-2), we conducted entrance and exit interviews with the teacher, as well as exit interviews with the focal students. The core of our exit interviews consisted of prompted-recall protocols (DiPardo, 1994), using six short clips of videotape compiled from tapes of our observations to prompt interviewees' accounts of both pivotal and typical moments in the class. Three of these clips (two from pivotal classroom discussions and one from the more typical activity of students reading aloud in class) were the same for all of the interviewees and were used to compare participants' responses to the same situations. The remaining clips were from moments at which the class's attention was focused on the interviewee. In showing the prompted-recall clips, we did not have specific questions for the interviewees but instead simply asked them to explain what was happening in class at those moments. Our follow-up questions about interviewees' explanations were informed by the hypotheses we had formed throughout the semester about the class and served to show how our interpretations compared with those of the class members we interviewed.

We chose to collect this range of data in order to have a record of the many sites in which this classroom community developed over the semester. Our expectation was that the factors facilitating and hindering discussion would not necessarily be evident in the large class setting. We wanted also to look beyond the classroom proper to individuals' informal interactions and their self-analyses in interviews in order to develop a comprehensive picture of how discussion within the large group might function.

In analyzing our data, we used a combination of grounded theory (Strauss, 1987) and fine-grained conversation analysis. We used grounded theory to code all of our data during the semester and in our early analysis, searching for factors that seemed to promote discussion, forming initial codings, and looking back again at the data to see whether these initial interpretations of the classroom discourse were consistent with all of our data. We repeated this process separately and together until both of us felt confident that our analysis was valid. Through this analysis of the data, we developed a sense of what were both typical and atypical segments of classroom talk, and we confirmed this sense, first, by isolating all of the non-procedural teacher questions from a randomly selected third of the class sessions we observed, and then categorizing those questions, paying attention to the kinds of information Kathy was requesting and the ways in which she phrased her questions to signal it. We then analyzed

conversational patterns more closely from both typical and atypical segments of classroom talk, through using conversation analysis to view and review short (one- to three-minute) segments of videotape, occasionally in data sessions with an informal interdisciplinary group of professors and graduate students working in conversation analysis. In choosing these short video segments to analyze, we used two different rubrics for the two kinds of segments: for typical moments, we selected randomly from the moments we had identified as typical; for atypical moments, we chose segments in which a greater than usual number of students had participated or in which the teacher or students acted in ways that enabled the class to engage in classroom talk that was more dialogic than usual. In repeatedly viewing the video segments, we paid special attention to factors contributing to why some questions and topics led to discussion and dialogic interaction, while others remained on the level of IRE exchanges. By drawing from these two methods of analysis–grounded theory and conversation analysis–we sought to examine the context for discussion on both large and small scale.

Results

Ethos of Involvement and Respect. Our observations and accounts from student interviews suggest that a crucial factor enabling the number and kinds of discussion that took place was the teacher's success in fostering an ethos of involvement and respect with her students, a finding that accords with studies by Kachur & Prendergast (1997) and Langer (1999a) emphasizing the importance of the caring environment for academic achievement. Kathy described her students as "very fine young men and women" to us in an interview and explained that "[my students] make me think"; it was important to her that her students knew that she learned from and cared about them. She demonstrated this respect for her students in two major ways: through her personal involvement with students and through her willingness to consider and sometimes adopt students' suggestions. Students demonstrated their awareness of her respect for them implicitly in class discussions and interactions but also explicitly in our interviews with them.

It was immediately apparent that Urban High School students saw Kathy as someone in whom they could confide. During passing periods, Kathy exchanged greetings with many of the students who went by her door, and at lunch and before and after school, there were always a few

current or former students in Kathy's classroom talking to her, helping her with various classroom chores and making use of the computer in her room that was available to students who needed to type assignments. Kathy also stayed after school for an hour or more on a regular basis to help students in one of her classes with a major writing project. Through these and other informal connections with students, Kathy built up a depth of knowledge about the students in her classes and in the school more generally: She knew which students had jobs where, who their brothers and sisters were, and how things were generally going for most of them.

Knowing as much as she did about students' lives, Kathy was able to – and did – offer herself as an advocate for students when they needed help with parents, employers, and other adults. Within the previous year, Kathy had applied for and received grant support to take students to a national conference on bilingual education and had written many letters of recommendation. And when she was selected to teach at a selective summer program for high school students at the university in a nearby town – to which her students were invited to apply – she offered to shepherd her students and to help explain the program to their parents, because, as she said when she introduced the program to her class, "Sometimes parents are afraid" of unfamiliar kinds of programs.

In class, Kathy built on her rapport with students, signaling her interest not only in the class's response generally, but also in students' responses individually. She regularly directed questions about the literature toward specific students, based on what she knew of their interests and backgrounds. Students responded when questions were directed toward them personally, but, more broadly, the climate of interest and respect kept students involved in class.

Students' perceptions of Kathy as someone who was different from other teachers and deserving of special respect were apparent in how they characterized her in their interviews with us. Aphrodite[2] told us that Kathy's opinion of her was "very" important and that it made her want to do well in class: "She's like a parent figure. . . . She knows what I'm doing, 'cause she's at school, so she keeps me in check." Aphrodite's grades had fallen from As to Cs during the previous grading period, and she told us that Kathy's being "mad at" her for falling behind in her work bothered her and made her want to work harder. Another student, Flaca, commented that she was more willing to keep paying attention to Kathy in class than she was with other teachers, and that even though she was a shy person, she didn't mind having Kathy ask her questions in

class, because Kathy was "just like, one of us. . . . She'll scream, or she'll make jokes. She'll, you know, fool around. She's just cool."

In addition to signaling interest in her students as people, Kathy often demonstrated through her actions that she saw students' ideas and contributions to the discussions as valid and valuable. At least some students felt comfortable voicing their disagreement with her assignments and opinions, and when they did so, Kathy listened carefully and, several times during the semester, changed her plans when she felt a student had a better idea.

Kathy's respect for students' contributions was evident, for example, when she was presenting the capstone assignment for the semester, an autobiography in which students were to model their writing on works of literature they had read during the semester. Kathy had put considerable thought into what she was asking students to do and had planned many of the semester's reading and writing assignments in anticipation of this project. As she explained the assignment to the class, though, one student, Devastator, questioned the reasoning behind her assignment, asking her whether the autobiographies they wrote had to be "true." After consideration, Kathy agreed that some autobiographies are not completely "true," and she consequently used his input to change the assignment and allow for some fictionalization.

By demonstrating her interest in and respect for her students, Kathy lowered the stakes for classroom participation a bit and created an atmosphere in which students were more likely to feel comfortable voicing their opinions. Because they knew that Kathy would at least accept and appreciate their contributions, speaking up in discussion was less threatening than it was in many classes. More importantly, Kathy demonstrated through the interest she expressed for students' divergent opinions that discussion could be a place for developing and changing ideas. Although she did not often change her plans on the basis of student contributions, the fact that Kathy did so at all gave discussion in her class a special importance and purpose.

Teacher Questions. Despite the ethos of involvement and respect that Kathy cultivated in her classroom, discussions were infrequent. Students did contribute regularly to classroom talk, but because the questions Kathy asked were typically not authentic, the overall structure of many segments of classroom talk was guided more by Kathy's plans than by her students' interests and experience. Kathy regularly reviewed material already covered and previewed material students would need to know to accomplish new tasks in the day's work.

Because of the tight, orderly schedule Kathy set for the class and her need to cover certain material during the course of the semester, discussion was not demonstrably part of her lesson plan for all class sessions. In our conversation analysis of classroom talk in her class, it became clear that Kathy was able to keep her class running smoothly in part because her formulation of questions to the class sent powerful signals about the nature and length of responses that she was hoping to hear. Through her phrasing, Kathy consistently signaled whether the question covered material already addressed in class, how extensive an answer she wanted, how many people she'd like to respond, and whether there was a specific answer she wanted to hear. Students picked up on these cues – if not consciously, then at least consistently. When students didn't respond in ways Kathy hoped they might, she skillfully redirected classroom talk.

While Kathy's signals in class about what she wanted from students' responses were powerfully evident to us as we viewed short segments of videotape, we wanted to gain a more large-scale sense of the kinds of questions she was using and the effects they had on the class. Consequently, we chose to isolate all of the nonprocedural teacher questions from a third of the class sessions we observed and categorize those questions, paying attention to the kinds of information Kathy was requesting and the ways in which she phrased her questions to signal that. The majority of the questions Kathy asked fell into four categories, which we have called "recitation prompts," "reminder questions," "implied answer questions," and "guided prediction prompts." A few could be classified as "discussion questions."

Recitation Prompts. Recitation prompts called for students to offer rote repetition of material they had covered in class or had written in their "Literary Vocabulary Notebooks," which were ongoing notebooks that Kathy required students to keep, in which they recorded important literary terms that came up during the semester, along with either Kathy's or the textbook's definitions of those terms. Such recitation prompts included:

1 "When you write essays, how many paragraphs is that?"
2 "What's the definition of a symbol?"
3 "And these words you would find where?"
4 "Somebody just real quick for me, what's an introduction? What do you do in an introduction?"
5 "Then the body [of an essay] is what?"

Reminder Questions. Like recitation prompts, reminder questions had clear answers; however, in these questions, Kathy hinted to students where they might find the answer or in what context the class had discussed the answer. For example,

6 "Let me refresh your memories. Remember when we read 'The Secret Life of Walter Mitty'? An essay that describes a person, what would that be called?"

7 "And of course what does he mean by tyrant? That was one of your vocabulary words."

8 "Remember the foreshadowing? The light fell on what?"

9 "You should have more than enough time to write this post-test. Remember as we've discussed, this is a multiparagraph essay, which means?"

Implied Answer Questions. Unlike recitation prompts and reminder questions, the answers to implied answer questions had not been covered in class already; nonetheless, there was a single desired response that Kathy was requesting, and she hinted at what that might be, by following the question itself with an "or" phrase or with a call for commonsense knowledge that would imply the answer to the academic question:

10 "Does Helen need pity? Or does she need some other kind of discipline?"

11 "So if in fact, let's say Odysseus was a real person, and it did take him ten years to get home. Was it because Zeus came down and said 'Forget that, I'm gonna punish you'? Or was it because he gets in a ship and hurricanes happen?"

12 "Also, the producer takes the words out of a man's mouth and puts them in the voice of the woman. Wouldn't that change things? Are men and women exactly alike?"

Guided Prediction Prompts. Guided prediction prompts were of a slightly higher order than recitation prompts, reminder questions, or implied answer questions. No clear answer had been given in class prior to the prompt, and Kathy did not supply or imply such an answer in asking for students' responses; however, Kathy's inclusion of information about the starting point students should use in thinking about the prompt signaled to students that she valued some responses more highly than others.

13 "Given that definition, anyone want to take a guess at what are some of the symbols, things that represent something else, in this play?"

14 "So given that, tell me about the plots. What do you think is one of the plots?"

As is evident in all four kinds of questions above, many of Kathy's questions were not authentic. In her phrasing of questions as well as in her evaluation of students' responses, Kathy

gave fairly clear signals to her students that multiple responses were not desirable and that there was only one answer she would validate. Furthermore, Kathy frequently included information in her questions that helped point students to the desired answers.

The prevalence of these kinds of questions had at least two important effects on classroom talk: One was that students frequently offered the "correct" response to Kathy's questions, and classroom talk unfolded in a fairly predictable fashion. The other effect was that students who responded "correctly" to the questions were stigmatized to some extent by other students as "know-it-alls." For instance, when Rose (a frequent participant in such Q&A sessions) responded to question 13 above, Omar (an infrequent participant) made expansive clapping motions, as if to say "Bravo!" As in Finders' (1997) study of junior high girls, students in Kathy's class wanted to avoid being seen as too eager to offer easy answers.

Discussion Questions. In contrast to these types of questions, in which Kathy signaled that she wanted a specific answer and often hinted at what that answer might be, Kathy posed discussion questions quite differently.

15 "Did anyone, did it strike anyone, did anyone have any ideas, 'This is just like I pictured it' or 'This is really different'?"

16 "Let me ask you this, was it better than you had pictured it or worse?"

17 "What do some of you think?"

18 "I know you're laughing, they're making it comical, but has that ever happened to anybody, where a couple of you walk in, and of course the store owners think that you're there to – you're a gang?"

19 "Let me just ask you – is that true? What Lysander says? 'The course of true love never did run smooth?' Think about it."

Unlike the more directive questions, Kathy's discussion questions demonstrated that she herself was thinking: she used more self-corrections and repairs to pose the questions to the class. She also phrased these discussion questions conversationally, often mitigating the hierarchical distance between teacher and student by prefacing the questions with such phrases as "I'm gonna ask you about something" or "Let me just ask you." Another important distinction in her phrasing of discussion questions is that she asked for multiple responses, using "some of you" and "anybody" rather than the more specific "someone" or "anyone" she used in directive questions. Discussion questions clearly called for complex responses, and Kathy's emphasis on personal opinion in such questions implied that she was open to many possible answers.

To facilitate more thoughtful, individual responses to her discussion questions, Kathy usually signaled that she wanted students to take time to think, rather than quickly produce a specific answer. In the more directive questions, she frequently inverted her sentence structure, implying hurriedness, as in questions 3, 5, 9, and 10 above. In addition, she sometimes explicitly referred to time, as in question 5 ("Somebody just real quick for me"), or in question 10, reminding students that they were on the clock and any time spent answering questions was time away from their own writing ("You should have more than enough time to write this post-test."). In contrast, in discussion questions Kathy frequently encouraged students to "think about it".

To help prepare students to bridge the gap between the rote responses required in Q&A sessions and the analytic responses required in discussion, Kathy did a considerable amount of scaffolding (Bruner, 1978; Cazden, 1980), calling students' attention to important evidence in literary texts, but not explaining to them at the time how the evidence might be interpreted. Then, during a subsequent class session, Kathy would again refer to the textual evidence, in a context in which students could make the connection between the evidence and a plausible interpretation. For instance, at the end of class one day when she was teaching The Miracle Worker, Kathy said, "Keys – the bell's gonna ring in a couple seconds, but nobody move – keys, who did she [Helen Keller] give the keys to? Think about that." During the next class session, while the class watched the movie of the play, Kathy again called attention to the keys, saying, "Okay, what does she [Keller] have [in her hand]?" And during the review for the test, after asking students what some symbols in the play were, Kathy hinted at the significance of the keys:

Kathy:	Now what do you think are the most important symbols?
	((Student replies that the key and the water are.))
Kathy:	The key and the water. And of the key and the water, what do you think is most important.
	((students answer both key and water and Kathy shrugs and holds her hands up, as if to say, "Who knows?"))
Kathy:	Now, how would you know. Do you think there's a right or wrong answer here. If I were to ask what do you think is the most important symbol and half of you wrote keys and half of you wrote water, and then I'd have to say, well half of you are wrong and half of you are right?
	. . .

Kathy: If I were to ask you what in your opinion is the most important symbol in *The Miracle Worker* and you chose keys, you'd have to take information from the story that you think emphasizes why that's most important. . . . So, are you following my thinking here? So that if you chose keys, then . . . you might wanna write about in the end when Helen goes and takes the keys from her mother and hands them to her teacher, what that means for everybody.

In addition to this scaffolding in literary analysis, Kathy modeled problem solving, particularly as it related to English words with Latin sources (and Spanish cognates). For instance, she asked the class to try to figure out the meaning of "pseudonym" one day in order to ask students what they wanted their pseudonyms to be in our study[3]

Kathy: Pseudonym. This is a prefix, pseudo. ((circles and points to pseudo on the board)) What's pseudo? Something that's pseudo

((Students guess blindly – "menudo?" "pseudo what?" – and finally give up.))

Kathy: Well, let's try it in Spanish. See if anyone knows what it is in Spanish. Seudónimo.

((Student responds, in Spanish, that the word has something to do with a name.))

Kathy: Okay what about the name. What does this mean, that says something about, This means "name." ((circles nym)) So something about a name.

((Students suggest "same name" and "opposite name."))

Kathy: This is a prefix that means false. So false name is what. So it's sort of nickname.

In commenting explicitly on the steps one might take to figure out the meaning of the word, Kathy not only models a process that students might use in the future, but also validates the knowledge they already have in Spanish, encouraging them to use this knowledge in their English academic work.

DISCUSSION

Two Class Discussions: Teacher and Students Negotiate Goals and Relationships

Because Kathy planned carefully for class and because the students liked and wanted to please her, classroom talk generally followed along on the lines that Kathy planned. However, students occasionally took control of classroom talk and turned it in directions that Kathy could not have predicted. Because Kathy's questions required analysis and often touched on students' lives, she relinquished a certain amount of control over what students would bring to the content of class sessions. It is to her credit that, despite occasional segments of classroom talk that were not directly relevant to the day's planned activities, Kathy continued to encourage students to talk in class and collectively build meaning.

Two discussions that occurred, one near the beginning, the other near the end of the semester, illustrate the risks and benefits that discussion entails for both teacher and students. We present those two exchanges at length here, exploring the different goals and relationships that participants had and that we believe affected the course of each of the two discussions.

"Who's Pentecostals in Here?" When Students' Goals and Relationships Conflict with Those of the Teacher

One discussion that students took in directions not intended by Kathy occurred in the middle of a fairly routine review of vocabulary words used in *The Miracle Worker*. Prior to the review, students had been asked to fill in the blanks in sentences that used the vocabulary words outside the context of the play. In the middle of the review was the sentence "The Puritans regarded _____ as an essential virtue." This was a difficult sentence for many of the students because the key word, "Puritans," held no meaning for them. To help give them the cultural context to make meaning out of the sentence, during the review Kathy extemporaneously took a step back from the worksheet and called upon her knowledge of the religious background of students in the classroom, asking, "Who's Pentecostal in here?" Goofy and Rose replied that they were, and thus became cultural translators of sorts. As Kathy explained to students at the end of a several minute exchange, her intention for the sidebar discussion on Pentecostalism had been to "relate it

[Puritanism] to some things that you guys might know," but students in the class had other ideas: Rose and, particularly, Goofy resisted being used as examples of people in restrictive religions, and the other students in the class were interested, for various reasons, in extending the conversation. This clash between Kathy's and the students' goals for the discussion, as well as in their relationships with each other and to Pentecostalism, demonstrates how what Bakhtin called the centrifugal forces of discourse, as the conversants refract each others' utterances for their own purposes, can complicate a teacher's work.

In the following excerpt, students attempted to take control of the discussion, and Kathy kept trying to return discussion back to her intended purposes:[3]

1	Kathy:	Goofy wears a skirt every day – why?
2	Student:	'Cause sh-
3	Devastator:	'Cause nothing else to wear.
4	((Class laughs))	
5	(3.1)	
6	Kathy:	Can she wear slacks?
7	Student:	[No.
8	Kathy:	[No. C [an y-
9	Devastator:	[Why.
10	Aphrodite:	_'Cause stu-_
11	Kathy:	'Cause she's not allowed to.> [They don't wear-<
12	Goofy:	[Que es, que es eso? ((What is what
13		is that?))
14	Kathy:	Oh. Pants.
15	(2.2)	
16	Kathy:	Pants.
17	Kathy:	Uhhhh. Movies, >can you go to movies?<
18	Rose:	No.
19	Kathy:	'kay. Very [strict religion?
20	Aphrodite:	[Why no::t. Why not movies.
21	Rose:	Because they can, cause um, the if you- if- that's where the: people?
22		where where hhhh .hhh.
23	Devastator:	Exactly.

Rose: Y- Como se dice el pecado en Ingles? ((How do you say sin in English?))

Kathy: Sins.

Rose: Sins, the sinners go and, you know, w- you can't sit where sinners: you know s- they sit at.

Devastator: You go to school.

((Class laughs))

Kathy: He he he. Oh sorry. I shouldn't have laughed. That wasn't very nice.

Goofy: I'm laughing too.

Kathy: Aw, okay.

Kathy: But yeah, the reason i- well is it- is it because that's where sinners go, or is it because [movies ar: sinful?

Aphrodite: [There're sinful things in movies.

Rose: No:::: [That's

Goofy: [>>That ain't- I don't think that's true because there's some Pentecostals who'll go that go to a movie, you know and it really depends on you<< and what you think you're doing wrong or you're doing right, so [(if you want you can to go to a movie)

Kathy: That's true. [Except though, but, doesn't- doesn't your- uh the religion actually say? Don't do this, don't do this, don't do this kind of thing?

Goofy: Well at my church, they=

Kathy: =An-

Goofy: They don't tell you what to do, cause that depends on you.

Kathy: Ohh, okay.

((nonparticipant in study's response omitted))

Goofy: You gotta know what's right and what's _wrong._

Kathy: _Okay._

(2.9)

Kathy: Now, are there some Pentecostal religions that say that though? Don't do this, don't do this, don't do this?

Goofy: Yeah. I don't know.

Rose: Th- jst- They're just a suggestion.

57 ((nonparticipant in study's response omitted)) . . .
58 Kathy: Okay.
59 Kathy: So, actually now, well I was trying to relate it to s::ome things that
60 you guys might know. So tha- very strict religions in certain sense,
61 right? So:::: they would be saying: (.) moderation. You know, that
62 you don't do these things, so what's the word for moderation?
63 Devastator already said it? (.8) Is temperance. (.) N. (.) So: the
64 Puritans in the sixteen hundreds in the United States, thought
65 temperance was good, as many religious groups would do today. Number
66 eight.

At several points in this discussion, Kathy attempts unsuccessfully to make a point about Pentecostalism using strict guidelines in order to explain who the Puritans were and quickly return to the vocabulary review. For instance, in line 11, Kathy begins to make her point that Goofy has to abide by strict religious rules, but Goofy's new vocabulary question, "Que es eso?", detracts from that. Similarly, in line 19, Kathy attempts to summarize the point, saying, "'kay. Very strict religion," but Aphrodite shifts the discussion away from a generalization about Pentecostalism to a question about the reasoning behind a particular aspect of Pentecostal daily practice. In line 34, Kathy sees that Rose's explanation is complicating the point about Pentecostalism judging certain activities and things as sinful, and she asks for clarification, implying that movies themselves are sinful: "But yeah, the reason . . ." At this point, Goofy implies she disagrees entirely with Kathy's interpretation of Pentecostalism and explains, about the extent to which being Pentecostals means adherence to strict rules, that "it really depends on you."

Goofy and Rose's resistance to Kathy's line of questioning is understandable, given that their classmates' perceptions of them were at stake. Although Goofy did indeed wear skirts to school every day, she took pains to dress fashionably, wearing the same kinds of skirts that her non-Pentecostal friends did. Her close friendships with non-Pentecostal students, as well as her choice of pseudonym (after the Disney character, Goofy) also demonstrate that she did not want to present herself as someone outside the mainstream of her classmates. In asserting that "it really depends on you," Goofy attempted to expand Kathy's definition of Pentecostalism and, at the same time, to preserve her identity as a regular student in the class. Rose's participation in the discussion, too, was complicated. From the beginning of the discussion, she resisted Kathy's implications about Pentecostalism.[3]

Kathy: Who's Pentecostal in here.

Goofy: Me.

((Rose raises her hand.))

Kathy: Okay.((Kathy raises her eyebrows dubiously at Rose.))

Rose: Well I'm not typical.

Kathy: Not typical Pentecostal. Goofy wears a skirt every day, why.

Although Rose attempted in discussion to be accepted as just as Pentecostal as Goofy, Rose (after the female protagonist in the movie *Titanic*) also wanted not to seem out of the ordinary.

While Goofy and Rose negotiated depictions of Pentecostalism, other students in the class had their own reasons for complicating Kathy's attempt to make a neat point and for thus diverting Kathy from her lesson plan. The class had been working on the vocabulary lesson for four days in class, and students were demonstrably losing interest in it. Devastator, for one, slept through the early part of the review, and the students who remained awake were not actively engaging in the lesson. Devastator's quip, "You go to school," and Aphrodite's question, "Why not movies?", furthered the Pentecostalism discussion and thus drew time away from the review of vocabulary words. Aphrodite explained in her exit interview that such tactics were not unusual: "'Cause like when she's giving us something to do, we know she's gonna give us something to do, and then we're like, well, let's talk her to death, so we'll only have like three minutes, all she has to do is explain it, and we don't have time to work on it in class." Although Aphrodite's interest in "Why not movies?" may well have been genuine, it probably also belied other motives.

The path of this unplanned discussion demonstrates some of the difficulties Kathy and other teachers face in opening up their classrooms to heteroglossia. While monologic discourse means that lesson plans and objectives unfold in a fairly predictable fashion, dialogic discourse depends on many voices – including the voices of students whose objectives and relationships to each other and to the course material differ from the teacher's.

The Most Important Character: When Students' and Teacher's Goals and Relationships Coincide

Given the difficulties that exist in fostering real dialogue, it is unsurprising that discussion was not a daily occurrence in this class, though it was more extensive here than in many comparable classes. Because of the strong social connections Kathy fostered in her classroom as well as her dedication to growing as a teacher and the work she did to prepare students to think analytically about literature, though, there were several points during the semester when everything came together and students and teacher were able to engage in collaborative, heteroglossic meaning making.

One discussion that both Kathy and her students saw as remarkably successful was one that occurred near the end of the semester, on the day the class had completed reading *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, the last major reading for the year. This discussion was remarkable not only because it challenged students to analyze the text and use evidence to support their own positions, but also because the discussion seeped into the students' lives outside of class. Despite the fact that the discussion was only 2:41 minutes long, it had a disproportionately large effect on the students' talk for the rest of the semester. For weeks after the discussion, Aphrodite, Flaca, and the other key participants continued to mention it to each other in passing between classes, and the discussion arose again briefly at the end-of-year field trip to see the 1999 film version of the play at a local multiplex.

In the original class discussion, students debated who was the most important character in the play and sparked an unusual amount of controversy. Almost immediately after Kathy asked the initial question, four students offered responses:[3]

1	Kathy:	'kay: Alright. Now. Let me just ask you a couple questions about this
2		play. ((3.0))
3	Devastator:	Go.
4	Kathy:	Think a little bit before you answer. Who=
5	Aphrodite:	=We already answered that.=
6	Kathy:	=in your opinion ((1.0)) is probably the most important person in the
7		play? ((2.0))
8	Devastator:	Oberon. And Theseus.

9	Rose:	Robin.
10	Aphrodite:	No:
11	Kathy:	((Waves both hands in arbitration)) Wh- Okay, wait. Wait. Okay. Um.
12	Aphrodite:	Oberon and his wife.
13	Kathy:	Oberon and, you're ((points to Devastator)) saying Oberon and Theseus,
14		the two
15	Devastator:	=Main guys.=
16	Kathy:	=male figures.
17	Devastator:	Yeah.
18	Kathy:	Why?
19	Devastator:	I dunno. 'Cause Oberon's like leader of the little fairyland, whatever,
20		and Theseus is the king.
21	Kathy:	Okay, alright. Makes, makes sense. An:d Aphrodite, you said
22	Aphrodite:	Oberon and his wife because if it wasn't for them, then none of that
23		would have happened? (I think) Know what I'm saying?
24	Flaca:	I think,
25	((Kathy nods and points to Flaca))	
26	Flaca:	Puck because he put the thing on their eyes.

The four students, Devastator, Rose, Aphrodite, and Flaca, were regular contributors to classroom talk and continued to be the main participants in the discussion, although by the end of the discussion, over half of the class had contributed vocally. What was unusual about this discussion, though, was that the four most vocal students had markedly different responses from each other and, more importantly, that they argued with each other about their different responses rather than deferring immediately to Kathy's authority. Moreover, Kathy did not rein them in. Also unusual was the level of engagement from students who were not participating vocally in the discussion. Nearly all of the students were visibly attentive: The videotape clearly shows them shifting their gaze from speaker to speaker, as well as a notable lack of note passing and sleepiness. By the end of the class period, even several of the typically quiet students had entered into the mix of discussion.

On the face of it, this discussion topic did not seem promising. Of the thousands of minutes of class time we observed and the hundreds of topics Kathy offered that were more directly

relevant to the lives of the students, we would never have predicted that this question about fairies and ancient Greek aristocrats would likely have sparked the interest of many students. Nonetheless, about a third of the students in the class – including a few students who rarely spoke – participated actively in the discussion, and even the students whom we interviewed who did not speak during the discussion indicated that the discussion made a difference to them in how they thought about the play. How are we to explain the unexpected success of this discussion?

We believe that the class was able to sustain an engaged discussion for two reasons. First, Kathy stepped back and let the students talk freely, rather than attempting to overly scaffold and lead students to desired responses. Second, interpersonal relationships among students – over which Kathy made the most of the limited control she had – enriched the classroom and enabled students to take advantage of the discussion opportunity that Kathy gave them.

Unlike the segments we've examined above, Kathy's role in this discussion varied substantially – from remaining silent, to joking with students, to asking students for clarification of their answers and revoicing (O'Connor & Michaels, 1996) or amplifying them, to asking scaffolding questions, to evaluating and assessing responses, to admonishing students who were offtask. In her exit interview, Kathy said that the discussion was a high point of the semester for her, in part because she allowed herself to take a less directive role: "The discussion that I thought was very good, 'cause I even remem- remember myself stepping back that day and just letting them argue, was the one about *A Midsummer Night's Dream*."

Perhaps the most significant thing that Kathy did differently in this discussion was that she was not committed to seeing any particular response as "correct." In other words, her question was authentic. Kathy was very new to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and had only added it to the syllabus when she learned that a movie version of it was coming out. Because she enjoyed teaching Shakespeare, Kathy decided to teach the play and go to the movie with her class, even though she would be reading it for the first time along with the class. The question of who the most important character was came from a teacher's guide to the play, and, although the guide listed the answer as Puck, Kathy herself had no strong personal commitment to that answer. The freshness of the question, and especially her openness to her students' ideas, enabled her to negotiate among the students' differing answers and to make her views known without discounting opposing views.[3]

Kathy:	You know Devastator may be on to something. I- Personally, I think Omar, Flaca, and Rose are right, personally. But I'm- I'm open, I'm open for other
Devastator:	You know, miss, I got two words for you.
Kathy:	Heh heh heh. You're wrong! I'm open for other opinions.
Kathy:	I'm open for other opinions here. Um.
Devastator:	Hell with it.
Kathy:	But,
Devastator:	I think
Kathy:	See, I hadn't thought about this.
Devastator:	How it all started.
Kathy:	This, th- the the point where, maybe the males are important because- Tigger, you guys, that's very annoying ((Goofy and Tigger are tearing up secret notes.))
Tigger:	Sorry.
Kathy:	Uh, the point that, the women at the end almost become nonexistent, in terms of speaking. Not almost, they are. You-re you're, th- Hermia and Helena are boom.
Kathy:	Well, so then maybe Devastator is right.
Aphrodite:	Yay.
Devastator:	About what?
Kathy:	Tha- that the sort of the male figures then dominate, they're the important ones.

Throughout the excerpted transcript above, Kathy pauses, takes time, and genuinely considers the validity of each participating student's responses.

Kathy, too, saw her role in this discussion as something new and important for herself as a teacher: "For me to have gone in with this preconceived notion of what I'd read through a teacher's guide, or what I *personally* think from my own reading, what's important, or what, you know, what this person does or that does, to then have Aphrodite and Flaca and Devastator say something else and then say, Hmm, you know what? You've got something here. Tell me more of what you mean. That's really good."

Kathy's willingness in this discussion to "step back" from the action and put her own "preconceived notions" aside had material ramifications for the students in the class. More typically, Kathy would scaffold discussions – sometimes for days in advance – so that students would be able to arrive at a sound (and often single) conclusion when the question arose in class. She remarked in the exit interview that:

> When we're reading, whether it's a short story or whatever, . . . I have goals or objectives in my mind, where I want them-. . . to comprehend, and then I want them to sort of discuss and think about this and then have opinions, because we don't always know. Like for example *The Midsummer Night's Dream*. . . . Unless Shakespeare came down and really told us, we don't know that. And although there are clues in every piece of literature, and so I want them to see that. And so, I will at times, as we're reading, I might say something, Hmm, well that's interesting, ohh, you know, what does that say there? So that when we get to the discussion, I've prompted them somehow that here's . . . a clue, or "Oh yeah, what did Ms. Smith say?" Without saying, without standing up here and lecturing to them, well this is what this person meant. I'll throw stuff in, hoping that someone will catch it, and then that's where I want the discussion, to flow from. . . . And I like them to argue about that, that's why I thought that one [the discussion about the most important character] was so good, . . . because they have their opinions, and they all had sound reasons to back up their opinions, which is what I want them to do.

Too often, though, quite a few students "caught" Kathy's clues and, having the clues in hand, did not argue. Kathy had given no clues prior to the "most important character" discussion, and, without those clues, students suggested and defended three possible responses. Kathy's questions later in the discussion, about who spoke last and who offered commentary on the actions of the other characters were clues of the kind that she more typically offered – and these clues prompted the usually silent Omar (who had read Puck's part aloud in class) to defend Puck as the most important character – but earlier, without such clues, students rose to the occasion and explained their own clues when they needed to do so.

Discussion

The discussion concerning Pentecostalism demonstrates that scaffolding does not necessarily lead to discussions that match the teacher's blueprint, and it is thus possible for students to subvert classroom talk to their own ends; however, that discussion was anomalous in this class. Much more typically, we saw students in Kathy's class picking up on clues and responding

accordingly when Kathy asked the question for which she had offered the clues. These instances of scaffolding modeled the work of literary analysis for students in valuable ways. But eventually, of course, the scaffolding must be dismantled.

In the "most important character" discussion, Kathy's not having a clear "answer" to her question opened up the possibility for multiple responses, and Kathy's decision not to completely ratify any of those responses meant that at the end of class, students would need to do some work on their own to figure out where they stood on the issue, which they in fact did in preparing for the final exam on the play. Jeniffer, who told us she felt very uncomfortable speaking in class and who did not speak in this discussion or in any other that we observed, spoke about how she continued to think about the question after class and eventually formed her own opinion:

Jeniffer:	When I listened to what they said, was thinking what was the one that is the most important character. 'Cause I started remember when they were fighting over who was right, and I started reading the story, and I- I find that Robin was the one, because he was the one that ended? And he was- he put the poison in the eyes, and he did everything.
Julie:	So you didn't really think- you didn't really have an opinion until after you like listened to this and then you looked at the book again?
Jeniffer:	Mmhmm.

Because of the scaffolding Kathy had been doing all semester, Jeniffer and the other students knew how to support their ideas about the most important character, but because Kathy did not scaffold this question so extensively and left the answer open at the end of discussion, students were able and in fact had to take ownership of their responses and find their own ways of substantiating them.

Kathy's tendency toward overly strong scaffolding reflects her transition from a more traditional teacher to a more dialogic teacher. Her decisions about how to conduct the "most important character" discussion, though, demonstrate what can happen optimally in a traditional classroom in which the teacher relinquishes some of her control. Students are at least as accustomed to traditional teaching methods as teachers are, but, like the teacher, students can grow, extending from their roots in traditional classroom practices when they are given the opportunity.

However, the students' interpersonal relationships in the classroom – which were largely out of Kathy's control – had perhaps a greater impact on how and just which students responded than

did Kathy's pedagogical decisions during the discussion itself. Because Kathy had made space for students to interact with each other in class throughout the semester as people and not just as students, the classroom climate was ripe for discussion when Kathy created pedagogic conditions that were conducive to such discussion. As in the discussion of Pentecostalism, students' social relationships with each other complicated the ways in which they related to the literature at hand, and in letting students act on their relationships in class, Kathy took important risks. However, we believe that these risks were crucial to the success of the "most important character" discussion.

The key participants in this discussion (Devastator, Aphrodite, Flaca, and Rose) each had strong social ties to students in the class that extended beyond school. For them, the classroom was a part of their extended social lives together, and as they responded to Kathy's questions and considered the social workings of the characters in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, they, too, were developing and enacting roles (Sperling, 1995) in a complex drama that intersected with the academic work Kathy wanted to do.

Through Kathy's presence as a caring teacher and through her tolerance and even encouragement of students' social networks, she enabled students to make the discussion of a play that might be seen as irrelevant to their lives, relevant. The following excerpt from the discussion about the most important character in *A Midsummer's Night Dream* demonstrates some of the social relationships that were at work, as well as Kathy's handling of them.[3]

1	Aphrodite:	Oberon and his wife because if it wasn't for them, then none of that
2		would have happened? (I think) Know what I'm saying?
3	Flaca:	I think,
4	((Kathy nods and points to Flaca))	
5	Flaca:	Puck because he put the thing on their eyes.
6	Aphrodite:	But who sent him? Oberon did. Oberon hadn't sent him,
7	Kathy:	Yeah but
8	Aphrodite:	he wouldn't have done it
9	Devastator:	You guys gonna start fighting? Come on, everyone!
10	Kathy:	Let's take it out in the hallway here.
11	Aphrodite:	((laughs))

12	Kathy:	Okay, Rose said the same thing before. Rose, you think it's Puck, and
13		Flaca, you think it is Puck.
14	Aphrodite:	Well, you're wrong!
15	Kathy:	Okay heh heh heh. ((Claps hands together as she speaks)) Wrong wrong
16		wrong! ((in mock despair, imploring Shakespeare)) William, will you
17		please appear and tell us what you meant! _William as in Shakespeare._
18	Aphrodite:	Oh
19	Devastator:	Oh, I thought you meant Bill Clinton.
20	Kathy:	Puhlease.
21	Kathy:	U:m.
22	Devastator:	I hope he brings Hillary.
23	Kathy:	Okay. Flaca an:d Rose think it's Puck. Why, Flaca, you were saying
24		because of the-
25	Flaca:	Because he has to do all the work.
26	Kathy:	Listen! Lis- Listen.
27	Flaca:	Yeah he- He has to do all the work. Yeah he was sent by that dude, but
28		he didn't get anything.
29	Aphrodite:	But if it wasn't Puck then.
30	Kathy:	Hold on, because I wanna see what what Rose is thinking of.
31	Aphrodite:	But Oberon gave the order.
32	Rose:	Yeah, but really then when he gave the order, um, then he- he still did
33		the she said all the work he, he put the the the eye drops? He=
34		Flaca: =Then why didn't he do it?
35	Aphrodite:	How hard is it to put eye drops in
36	Devastator:	I don't know. He could've sent his goddamn wife to do it.
37	Rose:	And then he made the mistake that he
38	Rose:	((Voice raised)) If it wasn't for him,
39	Aphrodite:	Ah-
40	Rose:	If it wasn't for him
41	Rose:	If it wasn't for him, That's why all the (things happened)
42	Devastator:	Ah- Ah- Ah-

43	Devastator:	I don't care. I was right.
44	Rose:	That's why all of the things happened.
45	Aphrodite:	Who's better, the maid is not better than the person who owns the house.
46		The maid is not better than the person who owns the house. Just 'cause
47		she cleans the house does not mean that she
48	Devastator:	Don't argue! You kn- you know you're right.
49	Kathy:	Who's right.
50	Kathy:	That you're right?
51	Devastator:	I'm right.

This section of transcript is characterized by a great many interruptions and offtask references that make most sense in the context of students' relationships outside of class. Because we developed an ongoing relationship with Aphrodite and Flaca over the semester in our tutoring sessions with them, we gained access to their explanations of some of the student relationships that were at work during the discussion.

Perhaps most important in this discussion was the close friendship that Aphrodite and Flaca had developed over the past year. Flaca had been very quiet during junior high – both in and out of class – and she said she felt that Aphrodite had helped her to become more vocal. Because Flaca was still somewhat reticent, she didn't always talk when she had something she wanted to say, but her friend Aphrodite's involvement in this discussion made it easier for her to speak up. Aphrodite explained the fun of this discussion:

Aphrodite:	I liked it. It was fun, because I was arguing with Flaca. I was like 'Yeah yeah!' You know.
Julie:	Okay, so you liked it because of arguing with Flaca. What about Rose?
Aphrodite:	Rose, yeah. Arguing with her yeah. But she doesn't argue back, so that's not fun. You know?

Aphrodite's close friendship with Flaca – and lack thereof with Rose – made it possible for her to argue heatedly with Flaca, but not with Rose. The prospect of a heated exchange made participating attractive to Aphrodite and Flaca. More surprisingly, though, this relationship made the discussion interesting even for the other, listening students. Jeniffer explained that she especially enjoyed this discussion because "It's – it funny because they're fighting with words. . . .

And it's funny to see them fighting for discussions and stuff." As in many high schools, fighting was common at Urban High School, so it's not surprising that both Jeniffer and Devastator labeled Aphrodite and Flaca's exchanges as a "fight" (line 9). The changing series of romantic and other relationships among students – in addition to some students' involvements in gangs – fueled fist fights on an almost daily basis at the school. Students were accustomed to seeing their classmates fight – but not over ideas. Aphrodite and Flaca's existing familiarity with each other enabled them to challenge each other in class, modeling at the same time to their classmates that ideas about literature might fuel a fight in much the same way that a romantic relationship or gang affiliation might.

The other important relationship at work here was between Aphrodite and Devastator, who had been flirting with each other for most of the semester and who glancingly traded eye contact during the discussion to check each other's reactions. Aphrodite explained in her exit interview that it wasn't until Devastator commanded her <u>not</u> to argue (line 48) that she was motivated to argue more:[3]

Aphrodite:	And like, so everybody's thinking everybody else is right, you know, they're thinking, "No I'm right" "No I'm right." You know? I got mad when people think they're right, 'cause I know I'm always right, but. He.
Julie:	Always right. He he he.
Aphrodite:	You know? And then, Devastator, I think he was trying to tell me something, I don't know what the hell, he's like, "Don't argue!" I hate it when he does that.
Julie:	Uh huh.
Aphrodite:	I'm like, you can't tell me what to do.
Julie:	Uh huh.
Aphrodite:	That's when I get madder- a- argue more.
Julie:	Was he saying that to you? Or was he saying=
Aphrodite:	=Uh, yeah.
Julie:	Not to Flaca or Rose.
Aphrodite:	I was arguing with Rose, 'cause Rose was trying to talk, I was like "NO! <u>I'm</u> right."
Julie:	Uh huh.
Aphrodite:	You know? And then he was like, "Don't argue, you know you're right" and I looked at him and was like ((nonverbal expression of disgust))

Devastator's response to Kathy's question, then, led to a chain of reactions catalyzed by the interconnected relationships between Aphrodite, Flaca, and Devastator. Although Kathy had no control over the relationships between students in her class, she did not hinder and, to some extent, encouraged the effect of these relationships on discussion. Kathy allowed students in her class to sit wherever they chose, and during the semester the seating arrangements visibly mapped the changing involvements between students. During the "most important character" discussion, Flaca and Aphrodite's chosen physical proximity allowed Aphrodite to bang on Flaca's desk for emphasis and to further add to the excitement of the "fight with words." Kathy also showed her tacit approval of Aphrodite and Flacas' argument by calling out "Fight! Fight!" – the call students at Urban used to alert potential onlookers to a hallway fist fight. Perhaps knowing Devastator's potential as a catalyst to discussion, Kathy also allowed – and to some extent encouraged – his periodic offtask comments, such as the one about Bill and Hillary Clinton (lines 19-22).

Many teachers understandably see off-task behaviors as detrimental to learning. Kathy herself told us that "that's the problem with discussions, is 'cause you wanna have this free flow of ideas, but they're still in this immaturity thing, where they wanna get their word in edgewise and then. There – there are so many interruptions, it's so hard to control that. That's why teaching is so emotionally draining." There were indeed many interruptions in the discussion of who the most important character was, but we believe that instead of detracting from learning, some of these interruptions and off-topic comments actually made learning possible because they bridged the lives of the students to the coursework in ways that were meaningful to the students.

Even when students' social networks contribute in positive ways to classroom talk, as in Kathy's class, enabling students to integrate their lives in school and elsewhere is risky. While the social relationships between students in Kathy's class added meaning and purpose to discussions, they also sometimes hindered discussion. All the focal students commented on situations in which their relationships with other students negatively affected their participation in class. In talking with the focal students, the major issue at hand seemed to concern who respected whom in class. Flaca, for instance, commented in her exit interview that she didn't mind when someone who was "part of [her] clique" interrupted her when she was talking publicly in class, but "if somebody else [did] that, I'm like, well then I'll, I'll probably like, you know, snap or something." Flaca's prediction that she'd "snap" was probably bravado, but she

was not alone in making a link between physical violence and disrespect in discussion. Aphrodite similarly commented in her interview that she and Devastator often said the same thing at the same time in class, and that when that happened, she "looked at him like you know 'shut up,' you know? 'Cause it gets me mad. I get real mad." By way of contrast, she remarked that "Andy does that [speaks simultaneously with her in class] too, but we don't like each other at all, and if I say something to him, he'll be like, ooh, he'd hurt me." Aphrodite's relatively closer relationship with Devastator meant that she could speak more freely with him in class than she could with Andy.

In addition, students' awareness of the social impacts of their varying levels of facility in English was an important factor influencing who spoke in class. Even though Kathy encouraged students to speak in Spanish if they wanted to say something they couldn't say in English, students themselves self-censored because of anxiety about language ability. Jeniffer, a fairly recent immigrant from Mexico, who was barely audible on the few occasions when she spoke in class, told us that she was "embarrassed" to speak in class because "there's one time when I said something [in class in English] and they, and I said it wrong, and they all started laughing." Jeniffer's trepidation about speaking was very reasonable, even though the class's reaction to what Jeniffer had said was probably not malicious; Flaca and Aphrodite, who both grew up in the United States and were more comfortable speaking English than Spanish, both said that it was good for new English speakers to talk in class. Flaca said, "I don't think it matters to people [whether students speak with an accent], but what would matter is like if they mispronounce a word or something, and it sounds like something else? Well then we'll probably start laughing, but [we] don't like mean it." Not all new English speakers felt as wary of ridicule as Jeniffer did; Efrain, also new to English, read frequently in class, and although he said he did not feel very talented at talking about literature, he didn't mind practicing English in front of the class.

On the whole, however, the emotions that could fuel "fights with words" were an asset to classroom discourse in Kathy's class. While students told us of tensions lurking beneath the social fabric of the class, the dangers these tensions presented were largely unexpressed, in large part because of Kathy's skill as a teacher and her knowledge of her students. Although Kathy could not completely control the extent to which students' relationships affected classroom talk, her presence as a calm and caring moderator typically helped guide discussion in productive directions, enabling students' social relationships to enhance rather than hinder discussion.

Conclusion

In most English classrooms in America, the default pattern of classroom discourse is monologic. This pattern manifests inertia, tending to continue in direction and character until the teacher acts to change it. To transform monologic classroom discourse into a more dialogic pattern of interaction, the teacher must take the risks inherent in doing something or allowing something, and this is the significance of Kathy's authentic question, "Who is the most important character in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*?" In many if not most American high school literature classes, such a question would not be authentic because the teacher would be looking for a particular answer. Moreover, had Kathy taught the play before, the question might well have been a test question here too. But largely because she had not made up her mind about the play, she pulled back, fortuitously, as it turned out, opening the floor to a bonafide and vigorous exchange of ideas by her students. In asking an academic content question that she had not prepared students specifically to answer, Kathy gave students the opportunity to apply what they had learned through the traditional scaffolding she had done all semester. In so doing, Kathy broke the usual mold of classroom discourse, and as a result, her question functioned as a "dialogic bid" (Nystrand, Wu, Gamoran, Zeiser, and Long, 2001).

Like many other teachers, Kathy rarely risked making a dialogic bid, and there are many reasons for this tendency. Strict state-mandated curricular expectations, the unknown potential of what students might say and conflicts that might arise (as in the Pentecostalism discussion), and unwillingness to try new and challenging ways of teaching are all significant hindrances to teachers' uses of dialogic instruction.

In addition, dialogic bids are rarely successful unless the participants in the discourse are prepared to respond to such bids. In most contemporary American classrooms, students are not accustomed to responding to dialogic bids, and it takes time for them to learn what to do in such situations. If making a dialogic bid requires the teacher to take risks, then responding to a dialogic bid requires the students to take on an equal amount of risk. Given these constraints, it is perhaps to be expected that the most important and successful discussion of the year took place at the end of spring semester, as the culmination of the entire year's academic and discursive work.

The possibilities for open discussion in any class are largely configured by the relationships between the teacher and the class, as well as within the class itself, for it is the network formed

by these relationships that fundamentally shapes and supports an ecology of learning (Nystrand & Graff, 2001). Looking carefully at Kathy's relationship and interactions with her students revealed a teacher who sought to make her classroom relevant to students by relating their experience to the standard academic material she taught, for example, encouraging students to "use your Spanish to try and figure out words," or explaining the Puritanism, which they didn't know, by reference to Pentecostalism, which they knew something about. When she sensed that her students might be unclear about new concepts and course readings, she sought to situate these topics by touching on students' lives outside school through discussion. This finding replicates Langer's (1999b) finding that effective teachers deftly use student language and their experience beyond school to enrich academic coursework.

As Kathy strove to make her classroom relevant to students in curricular ways, the relevance played itself out in striking ways not always related to the topics of instruction. *A Midsummer Night's Dream* turned out to be particularly relevant not because the students readily related to its plot and characters. Rather, its relevance came from the way the students were able to bring to bear their familiar roles originating in out of class rivalries to the perplexities of who the most important character might be. In so doing, they transformed mundane roles into interpretive roles. Kathy allowed this transformation to occur by asking a key authentic question and then standing back and letting it unfold. Her success was in crafting a classroom environment where students felt free to exercise such roles, where Aphrodite, for example, might bang on her friend Flaca's desk for emphasis and thus add weight and importance to her point about the academic material at hand. Kathy's efforts to open dialogue in her classroom shows that dialogic discourse can happen when teachers are adept at linking – and enabling links between – academic objectives and student concerns and roles that often originate beyond both the classroom and the school.

ENDNOTES

1. A pseudonym.
2. All names in this report are pseudonyms chosen by the participants.
3. Appendix C lists all transcription conventions.

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APPENDIX A: DEFINITIONS OF KEY VARIABLES

Authentic questions are questions for which the asker has not prespecified an answer. Examples include requests for information as well as open-ended questions with indeterminate answers. As such, an authentic question allows a range of responses not present in a more typical question, in which a teacher asks a question with a prescripted answer in mind. This distinction is important for our work because authentic questions posed by the teacher signal to students that the teacher is interested in what they think and know, as opposed to whether they can engage in mere recitation by repeating material given in a text or other source. Moreover, by allowing an indeterminate number of acceptable answers, authentic questions open the floor to students' ideas. As such, they invite students to contribute something new to the class interaction, which in turn holds the potential for altering the trajectory of substantive discourse in the classroom. By contrast, a test question allows only one possible right answer, a characteristic that Lotman (1988) termed "univocal." As a result, test questions concentrate control of classroom discourse in one actor – the teacher – and thus allow students no voice or influence over the flow of classroom discourse.

Uptake occurs when one conversant, e.g., a teacher, asks someone else, e.g., a student, about something the other person said previously (Collins, 1982). In an example of uptake, taken from a ninth-grade lesson on *The Iliad*, the teacher asks, "What do they have to do to Polyphemus?" A student replies, "Blind him." The teacher then follows up, asking, "How come the plan is for blinding Cyclops?" This last question is an instance of uptake, since the teacher follows up on the student's response, "blind him."

High-level evaluation. We coded teachers' evaluation of student responses as high when the student contributed something new (i.e., new information) to the discussion that changed or modified the topic of discussion in some way, and was acknowledged as such by the teacher. In other words, when a teacher's evaluation was high-level, the student really "got the floor." Specifically, we operationalized high-level evaluation using two criteria: (a) the teacher's certification of the response ("Good," "Interesting," etc.) and (b) the teacher's incorporation of the response usually in the form of either an elaboration (or commentary) or a followup question (e.g., "Can you say more about that?" or "Why do you say that?"). That is, for level of evaluation to be coded as high, the evaluation had to be more than "Good," "Good idea," or a mere repeat of a student's answer. In all instances of high-level evaluation, the teacher validated the student's answer so that it affected the subsequent course of the discussion. For example:

> Teacher: Anybody else have a definition of a dictator?
> Student: Someone who usurps the rights of others.
> Teacher: That's exactly right. How did you learn that? [Certification + followup]

In this example, the teacher's evaluation ("That's exactly right. How did you learn that?") is high-level because it validates the student's response and puts it into the play of discussion. In our scheme, we coded the follow-up question ("How did you learn that?") as high-level evaluation and also as a question in its own right. Alternatively, the teacher might have elaborated on the student's point about the usurpation of rights, thus incorporating the student's answer into her evaluation.

We did not consider as high-level a teacher's introduction of new information in response to a student answer unless the teacher incorporated a previous student answer; the criterion was the importance of the student as a source of new information. Also, we applied high-level evaluation only to the evaluation of student answers, not to teachers' answers to student ques tions.

Cognitive Level. Questions that generate generalization, analysis, or speculation open up the cognitive field beyond a mere reporting or replication of another's voice, incorporating the possibility of the speaker's added perspective and particularity. We therefore coded the level of cognitive functioning that each question sought to elicit, judging it high to the extent that the question could "not be answered through the routine application of prior knowledge" (Newmann, 1988; see also Polanyi's [1958] distinction between routine performances and heuristic acts). Like authenticity, the cognitive level of questions cannot be judged altogether from words alone. For example, if the teacher expected students to answer questions by reciting information found in textbooks, we coded questions as reports regardless of their linguistic structure. Hence, though a why-question will normally elicit an analysis, it will elicit a report if the teacher's focus is the recitation of a textbook's analysis rather than the class's reflection; then "Why?" really means, "According to your text, why did it happen this way? Do you remember?" Factors affecting the cognitive level of any question include:

- Source of the question. The very same question that elicits an analysis from a person who has to figure things out may well elicit a report from another, more knowledgeable individual who already knows and simply needs to explain. For example, "Why did Odysseus and his men plan deliberately to blind Polyphemus?" may well elicit an analysis from students (assuming, of course, that they have to figure out the answer and not merely recite their textbook on the point), but will most likely elicit a report if a student asks a teacher who already knows the answer. When we were unclear, we asked about it after class.
- Experience, ability, and prior knowledge of the person answering the question, including student or teacher. If student answers seemed to require routine cognitive operation, we coded questions as eliciting reports. We defined prior knowledge as "prior to the previous night's homework."
- Nature of the instructional activity. When an episode was devoted to review, our normal expectation for responses was a report, even if questions had the linguistic form of higher-level questions (e.g., "What's the difference between a symbol and an image?" as a study question).
- Source of information required by the question, including prior experience, textbooks, and previous teacher lectures.

Level of cognition elicited by questions was measured with a 5-point linear scale calibrated for level of abstraction and derived from Applebee (1981), Britton et al. (1975), and Moffett (1968). Levels were as follows:

1 = Record of an ongoing event: What's happening? We coded questions as records if they elicited descriptions of what students were observing, feeling, or thinking at the time of the question. Examples include: "Any questions on that?" and "What [or why] are you thinking about that?"

2 = Recitation and report of old information: What happened?

If the question required students to think and not just report something already known or previously thought by someone else, then we scored cognitive level higher than 2. To determine how high involved judging whether the student answering the questions was building up a generalization, in which case we scored it a 3, or breaking down an argument, in which case we coded it as an analysis and rated its cognitive level as 4:

3 = Generalization: What happens? Generalizations display inductive reasoning, building up ideas rather than breaking them down. They address questions such as: What happens? What do I make of what happens? They tie things together, and they are not restatements of information.

4 = Analysis: Why does it happen? Analyses display deductive reasoning, breaking concepts, ideas, and arguments down rather than building up ideas. To be scored as analyses, questions had to require more than restatements of known information.

5 = Speculation: What might happen?

Questions were judged to be lower-order (i.e., eliciting records or reports) if they elicited old information, or higher-order (i.e., eliciting generalizations, analyses, or speculations) if they elicited new information and could not be answered through the routine application of prior knowledge. Superficially a question such as "Do you think that's important?" might seem to elicit a record (i.e., referring to what the student is thinking at the time of the question), but the question more typically elicits a higher-cognitive operation such as an analysis of what is important. Hence, for such preformulated questions (cf. French & MacClure, 1981), we distinguished the preformulators ("Do you think . . . ") from their nuclear utterances (the remainder of the question: "Is that important?"), coding only the latter.

APPENDIX B: DISCUSSIONS IN A 9TH-GRADE INNER-CITY HIGH SCHOOL ENGLISH CLASS, SPRING 1999

#	DATE	TOPIC & NOTES	DURATION
1	2/25/99	Discussion of Puritans and link to Pentecostalism in context of *Miracle Worker* vocabulary study ("tolerance")	2:56
2		Disorganized discussion of *The Exorcist* (film) related to review of vocabulary	1:03
3	3/3/99	Discussion of whether or not Captain Keller was disrespectful to Annie (*Miracle Worker*)	1:22
4		Devastator brings up question of whether Captain Keller is older than Kate, which leads to a discussion of ages and whether the second marriage with the age difference is appropriate. Teacher ends discussion by asking students to return to her original point.	2:07
5	3/5/99	Students and teacher share stories about their childhoods [related to biography, autobiography unit]. There isn't any cross talk, but students speak freely.	14:56
6	3/10/99	Discussion about stereotyping in the film, "The Magical Ice Cream Suit" (Students had previously read the short story)	1:10
7		Discussion about stereotyping in the Taco Bell Chihuahua TV ad.	:49
8	4/14/99	Group work on the lifeline leads to a discussion about when Odysseus was with Calypso	4:05
9	4/30/99	Discussion about prejudice in "Everybody Knows Tobie"	1:54
10		Discussion about Taco Bell Chihuahua	1:53
11		Discussion about stores [Target] and prejudice	3:45
12	5/21/99	Discussion of most important character in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*	2:41
13	5/26/99	Discussion of importance of having the last line in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*	1:32
14		Nature of autobiography. Dialogic shift, but not discussion—Devastator asks if he can make stuff up in his autobiography, and after considering it, Kathy changes her assignment and says yes	2:15

Total discussion for 51 observations	55:25
Average duration of each discussion	3:58
Average amount of discussion each day	1:05

APPENDIX C: TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

Brackets indicate the beginnings and ends of overlapped speech, as in:

[Yes that's true.]

[But if they] don't, then what.

Colons indicate that the immediately prior syllable is prolonged. The number of colons indicates the relative length of the prolongation.

Hyphens represent a cutting off short of the immediately prior syllable.

Underscoring represents heavy emphasis.

Degree symbols indicate °decreased° volume.

Capital letters indicate INCREASED volume.

<> indicate the relative amount of time that elapses during a period of talk:

>decreased time elapsed< relative to surrounding talk (more rapid speech)

<increased time elapsed> relative to surrounding talk (less rapid speech)

Equal signs indicate that no significant amount of time elapsed between two utterances.

Numbers encased in parenthesis indicate the seconds and tenths of seconds of pause.

Periods encased in parenthesis indicate less than a tenth of a second of pause.

Double parentheses enclose descriptions, not transcribed utterances.

Double parenthesis enclosing an ellipsis indicate omitted transcript.

Single parenthesis encasing words indicate that it is not possible to discern for certain what the speaker said.

Punctuation marks indicate intonation at the ends of words. A period represents falling intonation; a comma represents falling-rising intonation; a question mark indicates rising intonation; an exclamation mark indicates high intonation.

Breathing indicators are indicated by a period followed by hh, i.e., .hh, for an inhalation and hh alone for an exhalation.

Laughter tokens are indicated with "he," "heh," "fff," etc.

Please help us assess the quality of our research report series by completing and returning the questionnaire below:

NAME OF REPORT: **TAKING RISKS, NEGOTIATING RELATIONSHIPS: ONE TEACHER'S TRANSITION TOWARDS A DIALOGIC CLASSROOM**

1. Your position:

____ elementary school teacher	___ state ed. agency staff	___ policy maker
____ middle school teacher	___ professional developer	___ researcher
____ high school teacher	___ school administrator	___ education writer
____ college teacher/professor	___ district administrator	other_____

2. Clarity

	Very well				Not at all	
a. The concepts in this report were clearly expressed.	1	2	3	4	5	N/A
b. This report was well organized.	1	2	3	4	5	N/A

3. Utility

a. Reading this report gave me new information or insight into teaching or learning.	1	2	3	4	5	N/A
b. This report addresses a current and important problem in education,	1	2	3	4	5	N/A
. . . and offers a solution to the problem.	1	2	3	4	5	N/A
. . . and/or helps the reader understand the problem from a different perspective.	1	2	3	4	5	N/A
c. I found the ideas and solutions offered in this report to be feasible given current realities of policy and practice.	1	2	3	4	5	N/A

4. Scholarship

a. The conclusions drawn in the report are						
. . . adequately supported by the research presented.	1	2	3	4	5	N/A
. . . fully grounded in theory.	1	2	3	4	5	N/A

5. Any other comments or suggestions regarding this report or additional research needs in the area of English and language arts teaching and learning are greatly appreciated.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Please return this form to:

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